

764 each piece separately, said to whom and for what it was
431 being paid. All the *tsera* was contributed by Maling's clan
relatives, about twelve of them, the largest amount coming
from Soles and Malalis. First, the people from whom the
pigs have been bought were paid, then the pall-bearers,
and then the dancers. Tobacco and food formed the pay-
ment to the two latter groups. Then there were gifts of
portions of pigs by the owners, Maling's clan relatives, who
have purchased them for the occasion, and which form part
of a long chain of economic transactions, consisting of
exchange gifts, already described in the section under
economic structure. Finally all the gifts were made, the
rites were over, and everyone returned wearily to their
homes.

- 765 For several weeks now all the women of the hamlet (this
included the members of the extended family) slept in
Tubung's house and the men at the men's house. There

[834] was an abstention from sexual intercourse at this time.
During the day the ordinary family life was interrupted.
The men spent most of their time sitting in the cemetery,
and talked about any matter that happened to be of imme-
diate interest. The women were together, busy much of
the time with communal preparations of the meals, which the
men ate in the cemetery and the women in the compound.

[262] During this time Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman,
refrained from eating taro. This taboo is kept by parents and
children, brothers and sisters, and husband or wife, should
they be alive. During this same period dance rehearsals,
which happened to have been begun before the death, were
discontinued by everyone in the village. The end of the
period was marked by a feast given by Soles, who hit a
baked pig on the back.

764 The mortuary rites for Maling are typical. In illness it
is usually a daughter or parent who takes care of the sick
person. At Maling's death the behaviour of a husband

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764 The payments for the pigs and services show very plainly that
614 it is the clan relatives who are responsible for carrying out the
mortuary rites. It is an economic matter and they are the ones who
are under an obligation to make the payments. There are fewer
exceptions to this rule than almost any other. When Kawitti
died her son was absent at a distant village. There was no maternal
nephew present either, and she had no daughter. She was survived
by a husband, who, in the absence of a clan relative, made a very
small burial feast. It was explained at the feast that it was a very
small one and that as soon as the son came home he would make a
big feast. Eleven days later the son returned, having walked
from a far distant village, and after he finished wailing, he
immediately began preparations for a really big feast. These
preparations took about a week, at the end of which there was a
large feast attended by over a hundred people. It was the son
who officiated at the feast and who, assisted by his clan relatives,
made the necessary payments. The husband of the dead woman
was completely in the background.

538 The ending of the majority of folk tales and myths is also rather
764 interesting, in showing the economic responsibility of the clan
relatives for the mortuary rites. An overwhelming number of the
614 folk tales end with the death of one or more of the main characters.
The tales all conclude on exactly the same note, "The man died and
then all the clan relatives held a pig and made a feast."⁹

UTES AFTER BURIAL

765 The rites after burial may be divided into two parts, those
occurring in the period immediately after death (the first month)
and those in the succeeding period, which extends to an indefinite
number of years.

765 The sleeping arrangements and taboo on sexual intercourse for
513 the extended family, which began during the burial rites, are
834 continued in this first period. The men sleep in one house, frequently
the men's house, and all the women sleep in another house, sometimes

⁹ "Holding a pig" refers to holding it just before it is killed.

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the house of the dead person. These include usually the following: real and classificatory sons and daughters and their spouses, brothers and sisters, parents, nephews and nieces. This period of abstention from sexual intercourse lasts about three weeks and its end is marked by a feast. The initiative in terminating this period is taken by a clan relative (a brother in several cases observed). He holds the feast and at it announces the discontinuance of the sleeping taboo. During the time when these sex taboos are enforced all those implicated live in the hamlet where the death occurred. They not only sleep there, but cook, eat, and spend their entire time at this hamlet. One death occurred in the hamlet next to the one in which I was living, involving most of the people in my hamlet, which was consequently deserted for the three weeks following the death. The men spend their time sitting around the cemetery, talking and doing nothing. Their conversation is mostly about any practical affair that happens to engage their attention. After one death it was about the expected visit of the district officer to collect taxes, a very momentous affair in the life of the native, but having nothing to do with the recent death. Each day the men eat together in the cemetery. The women prepare the food together and remain in the compound to eat, but not with the men, instead of returning to their own house to eat, as they usually do. Some of these people are observing food taboos. The taboo is on eating taro, the staple food of the native, and is observed by parents or children, brothers or sisters, and husband or wife. This taboo is kept until a few days before the mourners go back to their ordinary sleeping arrangements, and its end is also marked with a feast, when one of those observing the taboo hits a baked pig on the back before it is cut up for the feast. The hitting of the pig is a signal that the taboo is lifted. If dance rehearsals happen to have been in progress they are discontinued for about ten days after the death.¹⁰ A brother gives the signal for the resumption of the dance rehearsals by sounding the *kolamuth* (a hollowed tree trunk used as a drum). The native evidently makes a distinction between the

¹⁰Dance rehearsals are carried on for months before a rite, of which they are a part, is held.

765 act of dancing and the symbol, or what the dancing represents.
535 While dance rehearsals are taboo in the period immediately preceding death and in the period following death, dancing is part of the burial rites, participated in by the whole community, and represents an outward expression of their feelings aroused by the death. But the dance rehearsals have no connection with death (they may be rehearsals for circumcision, marriage, or some other rite) and as such have no psychological association with the recent event and would mar the continuum of expressed community feeling after a burial.

769 The years following the death are marked by the making of a
532 *malangon* and the giving of many feasts. The *malangon* is an
778 elaborate carving which varies in size and design. The carvings are divided into a number of large classifications, each of which is subdivided into smaller groups, and each division large and small has its own name. On a large number of them there is a figure for each dead relative for whom the *malangon* is made, and sharks, birds, and fish are frequent in the design. There are also other carvings on which no figure of the dead relative occurs. The right to make a *malangon* is owned by a clan, which can sell the right to another clan. The original owner then loses the right to make it and must buy the right to make a different *malangon* from another clan. When the *malangon* is made and displayed, there are elaborate rites continuing for months and including dancing, feasts and special rites, which vary according to each particular *malangon*.

769 The *malangon* is usually made by a maternal nephew or by a
532 son, if the dead person is a woman.¹¹ Occasionally other close clan
554 relatives may make one too. The time for the *malangon* rites may
778 be a year after death, or it may be five years after death. The time depends on how long it takes to collect the wealth necessary for holding the rites. Frequently one carving will be made for several dead relatives at one time. As far as the writer was able to ascertain, the making of the *malangon* and the rites concerning it

¹¹The clan relative does not actually make the *malangon* but pays a skilled carver to make it according to his directions.

At appearance of first tooth	aning asl ŋuji (eating for tooth)	527
After ritual washing of a girl at her first menstruation	ts: tsd (name of leaf used in washing)	574
Marriage	marl (name of playful fighting occurring between women of opposite moieties at this time)	
Circumcision	Lual nγ ts: saukγ (feast for cutting penis)	
Recovery from illness	Bis Bambull γ (make taro die ⁴)	
Going away a long distance	aning atγ basiγ ap (eat and go)	
Feast at death	Kosγ lual (Make feast)	
Feast some time after death has occurred	Kosγ lual mau tungān (free translation: make feast for dead; literally, implies feast is held on ground where men are buried)	
Malanggon ⁵ rites	Kosγ lual (make feast)	
To make arrangements for future malanggon rites	āginl:n:t bul (mark pig)	
To end quarrel	lambii (finish)	
Before war ⁶	Lual tanta bul marl (feast to bring fight)	
To make peace between warring villages	lambii (finish)	
Feast given for possible mates of female infants	aning ts:ng tsd (eating play)	
When there is abundance of food	nγ n:n aL:t (food much)	
To repay women who helped an ill woman	aning oba (eating, communal work)	
To repay workers on a house or garden fence	aning oba (eating, communal work)	
At completion of my house ⁷	rs:ali anuγ (open house)	

During the ten months of my visit I attended eighty-five feasts, a large majority of which took place in the village of Lesu. The others occurred in neighboring villages, but were also attended by Lesu people.⁷

The eighty-five feasts fall into the following classes:

Feasts at death..... 9

⁴ The tops of this taro are thrown away and not replanted as is usually the case.

⁵ Malanggon is the name of an elaborate carving displayed at certain mortuary rites.

⁶ Warfare has been abolished by the mandated government and the feasts connected with it are therefore no longer held. The feast before war and the one to make peace between warring villages are the only ones on the list which were not held during my visit. [177]

⁷ This feast was called by a different name from the one ordinarily used to repay the workers on a native house, and is really an introduced element in the culture.

⁷ Not included in this number is the communal eating on the part of the men every day for several weeks after a death. These might well be considered ritual feasts, but I have included only those which mark a very specific occasion, such as those in the foregoing list. [264] [765]